

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

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EXDIS ; MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EGEN, ETRD, JA

SUBJECT: TOGO-HOLBROOKE MEETING 7/26/78

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR TOGO ASKED ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE'S ADVICE ON MAKING A DEMARCHE REGARDING JAPAN'S DESIRE TO LIMIT INTERNATIONAL ACCESS TO TSUGARU STRAIT BECAUSE OF GOJ CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS. HOLBROOKE EMPHASIZED TO TOGO SERIOUSNESS OF TRADE IMBALANCE PROBLEM AND EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WE FACED A DIFFICULT PERIOD. HOLBROOKE URGED EXPANDED GOJ EFFORT ON DEFENSE COST SHARING. THEY ALSO EXCHANGED VIEWS ON ASEAN AND OTHER SUBJECTS. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR TOGO CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE AT HIS OWN REQUEST JULY 26 TO DISCUSS A PROCEDURAL MATTER
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RELATING TO LAW OF SEA NEGOTIATIONS. TOGO STATED THAT JAPAN WAS CONCERNED BECAUSE NEW INTERNATIONAL STRAITS REGIME NOW BEFORE LOS CONFERENCE WOULD PERMIT COMPLETE FREEDOM OF TRANSIT OVER, UNDER OR THROUGH INTERNATIONAL STRAITS. GOJ WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT EFFECT THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE IN TSUGARU STRAIT BETWEEN HOKKAIDO AND HONSHU. UNDER PRESENT TERRITORIAL SYSTEM, HE SAID, THERE WAS A

NARROW STRIP OF HIGH SEAS IN WHICH SOVIET SURFACE SHIPS
COULD NAVIGATE. NEW ARRANGEMENT WOULD PERMIT SHORE-TO-SHORE

PASSAGE AS WELL AS AIRCRAFT OVERFLIGHTS. AMBASSADOR TOGO
SAID THAT THIS SITUATION WAS DAMAGING TO JAPANESE SECURITY
AND THAT GOJ WISHED TO MAINTAIN TRADITIONAL TERRITORIAL
ARRANGEMENTS, I.E. LEAVING STRAIT ONLY PARTIALLY OPEN.
TOGO SAID HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH SOMEONE "AT
A HIGH LEVEL" ON MATTER NLT AUG. 1. HE WISHED TO ASK
HOLBROOKE'S ADVICE SINCE AMBASSADOR ELIOT RICHARDSON WOULD
BE OUT OF TOWN FOR SOME TIME. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT HE
WOULD CALL TOGO AFTER HAVING CONSIDERED MATTER MORE
THOROUGHLY. (FYI DEPARTMENT ARRANGED 7/31 APPOINTMENT FOR
TOGO TO SEE UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM ON THIS ISSUE. THIS
MEETING BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL.)

3. HOLBROOKE ASKED TOGO TO EXPRESS USG'S APPRECIATION TO
PM FUKUDA AND FOREIGN MINISTER SONODA FOR KEEPING EMBASSY
TOKYO SO WELL INFORMED ABOUT JAPANESE DEALINGS WITH THE
VIETNAMESE AND THE CAMBODIANS. HE SAID THAT USG SHARES
GOJ VIEW OF CURRENT GSVN POSITION RE RELATIONS WITH US
AND AGREED WITH GOJ ABOUT THE RATIONALE UNDERLYING
VIETNAM'S POSITION. HE DISCLOSED THAT USG WILL NOT MEET
WITH VIETNAMESE THIS SUMMER BUT WOULD BE GETTING TOGETHER
WITH THEM SOMETIME THIS YEAR. HE ADDED THAT USG WAS IN
MEANTIME ENCOURAGING PRIVATE AND CONGRESSIONAL CONTACTS
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WITH VIETNAM.

4. HOLBROOKE SAID NEXT WEEK'S CONSULTATIONS WITH ASEAN
COUNTRIES WERE VERY SIGNIFICANT AND DEMONSTRATED THE
SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH USG VIEWS RELATIONS WITH THESE
COUNTRIES. HE SAID THAT DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY
WOULD BRIEF TOGO SOON AFTER CONCLUSION OF MEETINGS. HE
NOTED THAT ASEAN CONSULTATIONS WERE IN SOME MEASURE A
RESPONSE TO PM FUKUDA'S INITIATIVE RE ASEAN AND THAT HE
WISHED TO KEEP PM AND FON MIN FULLY INFORMED. HE SAID
THAT IF GOJ WISHED TO PROVIDE AN INPUT TO OUR ASEAN CON-
SULTATIONS, THAT IT SHOULD DO SO WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

5. HOLBROOKE TOLD TOGO HE WAS SCHEDULED TO TESTIFY BEFORE
CONGRESS NEXT WEEK ON SOUTH PACIFIC. HE NOTED CONSIDERABLE
JAPANESE INTERESTS THERE AND SAID THAT JAPAN HAD BEEN
WELL REPRESENTED AT SOLOMON IS. INDEPENDENCE CEREMONIES.

6. RE PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS, HOLBROOKE DISCLOSED
THAT USG IS MAKING REAL PROGRESS IN CONTINUING MILITARY-
TO-MILITARY DISCUSSIONS. HE SAID THAT ALL PROBLEMS RE-
LATING TO CLARK AFB HAD BEEN RESOLVED AND THAT WE WERE

MOVING FORWARD FROM THERE.

7. RE TRADE IMBALANCE ISSUE, HOLBROOKE NOTED THAT PM

FUKUDA'S IMPRESSION IN MAY WAS THAT PROBLEM HAD DIMINISHED IN INTENSITY. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT PROBLEM WAS IN FACT GROWING MORE SERIOUS IN SENSE THAT US PUBLIC AWARENESS IS BEING INCREASINGLY FOCUSED ON PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH JAPANESE EXPORTS. HE RECALLED PREDICTING SOME 6 MONTHS AGO THAT SEPTEMBER WOULD BE A DIFFICULT TIME AND CONTINUED TO ANTICIPATE PROBLEMS THEN. HE SAID SITUATION WAS MOST SERIOUS AND THAT WE HAD THEREFORE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD TO DISCUSS THE TRADE PROBLEM WITH PM FUKUDA ON EVE OF BONN SUMMIT. HE ADDED THAT THE INFORMAL ASSISTANT
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SECRETARIES' GROUP WAS MEETING AGAIN TO STUDY ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INDICATORS. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT MIGHT BE WELL IF US-JAPAN SUB-CABINET GROUP MET AGAIN ON TRADE PROBLEM IN SEPTEMBER, POSSIBLY IN WASHINGTON.

8. TOGO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT STEEL AND TV EXPORTS WERE UNDER CONTROL AND THAT YEN APPRECIATION WAS MAKING JAPANESE LESS COMPETITIVE, PARTICULARLY IN AUTOMOBILES. HE NOTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME SCOPE FOR INCREASED BEEF IMPORTS BUT NOT FOR CITRUS. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT US WOULD RELAX ITS CITRUS DEMANDS. HE SAID HE HAD PASSED THIS VIEW TO AMBASSADOR STRAUSS BUT THAT IT HAD NOT SEEMED TO SINK IN. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT STRAUSS WAS UNDER PRESSURE ON THE TRADE ISSUE.

9. HOLBROOKE ASKED TOGO ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT). TOGO RESPONDED THAT THERE HAVE NOW BEEN FOUR MEETINGS AND THAT, IN HIS VIEW, PRELIMINARY TALKS WERE OVER AND BOTH SIDES WERE ADDRESSING ISSUE OF TEXT. HE SAID HE HAD NO FURTHER DETAILS.

10. HOLBROOKE SAID THAT THE ISSUE OF SHARING DEFENSE COSTS WAS GETTING MORE AND MORE ATTENTION. HE NOTED THAT GOJ HAD MENTIONED \$100 MILLION. WHILE HE RECOGNIZED DIFFICULTIES JAPAN FACES, HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE ULTIMATE GOJ CONTRIBUTION WOULD BE HIGHER THAN THIS. HE TOLD TOGO HE WOULD ARRANGE FOR HIM TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITH SEC STATE AT ANY TIME. VANCE

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